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the proper arrangements can be made. In the statement issued from the White House it is said that the action is taken "in view of the entire removal of the circumstances which were thought to justify the occupation. The further presence of the troops is deemed unnecessary." The administration is doing all in its power to avoid any cause of misunderstanding with Mexico, to aid the people to be self-reliant, to work out a satisfactory policy of their own and establish a government.

. . . A vast mass meeting of protest against the war was held on Boston Common, Boston, Sunday, September 13. It is estimated that over thirty thousand persons were in attendance. Mayor James M. Curley presided, and proposed resolutions requesting the President and Secretary of State to co-operate with representatives of the South American countries "with a view to tendering jointly their good offices in behalf of peace," and that these conferees recommend to their respective governments "the adoption of an absolute embargo on the necessaries of life, to continue until the termination of the war." The principal address was made by Hon. Samuel J. Elder, the recently elected president of the Massachusetts Peace Society. Letters were read from Governor Walsh and others, and a cablegram from Cardinal O'Connell at Naples, expressing his interest in the object of the meeting and his prayer for a speedy termination of the war. Among the speakers were Bishop Hamilton, Albert G. Bryant, and Justice M. J. Murray. The meeting was arranged by the Boston American, and was attended by a large deputation from the Boston Central Labor Union.

## The Spirit of Brotherhood.

A Message from President Wilson.

My Fellow-Countrymen: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during these last troubled weeks what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issue and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle.

It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility—responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its government should unite them as Americans, all bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against the deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name, during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own councils, and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

August 18, 1914.

## Responsibility of the American People.

Hon. Theodore E. Burton, President of the American Peace Society, on September 12 issued this statement:

"The frightful consequences of the present European conflict are likely to be beyond the wildest conjecture. Never before in the history of the world have such large numbers of men and such quantities of armament been engaged in mortal combat; never before have such deadly machines of warfare been loosed in the destruction of man and of property. Many thousands of lives are being sacrificed daily, and will continue to be until this terrible conflict is stopped.

"The causes of the war are not hard to understand nor difficult to explain. The maintenance of enormous military and naval armaments by the nations of Eu-

rope, costing no less than \$2,000,000,000 annually, and a compulsory military service have inevitably stimulated a warlike spirit. It has been alleged that this vast expenditure was for defense, that it was for the maintenance of peace, but the present war is an irrefutable answer to this argument. Men unarmed are not liable to commit murder; nations unarmed do not engage in war. Again, certain sovereigns have had an insatiable ambition to increase their personal power and to extend the territorial limits of their country, regardless of the cost in men or money. Then, too, there have been the intolerable secret alliances founded upon an outgrown conception of effective statecraft. Added to these causes are racial and religious animosities which have existed for centuries, and trade rivalries and jealousies which have been constantly growing more

"The burdens and miseries of the war will fall not so much upon the sovereigns of the nations engaged in it as upon the millions of men who are fighting in the ranks, upon the widows and orphans in the homes which are made desolate, and upon the generations yet unborn. The wheels of industry are still, commerce is paralyzed, thousands of lives which can never be restored are being sacrificed, and civilization is turned

back one hundred years.

"In the midst of this distressing calamity, the peaceloving people of America have no small responsibility. The President of the United States has just asked that the 4th day of October be spent in prayer and supplication for a speedy termination of this bloodshed and woe. Ministers might well deliver sermons directing attention to the utter follies and irreparable losses of war, not only on October 4, but next Sunday and on every possible occasion. A similar responsibility rests upon lecturers, and upon the press. The various peace societies should, with renewed vigor, bend their energies toward creating a universal sentiment for international right reason. Such efforts exerted by a people of a great nation whose neutrality and good faith is undoubted, cannot fail to have a salutary effect. The time must inevitably come when the peoples of the world will demand that the controversies between nations shall be settled by some form of judicial procedure similar to that now used in the settlement of controversies between individuals.

"The opportunity of the American people seems at The workers for justice between nations may well be horrified, but they need not feel discouraged. The cumulative disasters following in the wake of the armies, the futility of military theories, the senselessness of it all, are so apparent that the constructive upbuilders of civilization may well believe that they are soon to receive a new hearing before the bar of humanity. Let us of America, remembering all that is best and noblest in our traditions, do everything in our power to carry forward the banner of the new international righteousness. We repeat, our responsibility and our opportunity are at hand.

"Therefore we urge upon peace-loving people the country over the importance of immediately discussing among themselves this terrible situation, and of uniting in prayer and supplication today, and tomorrow, and of continuing their efforts on each succeeding day until world peace is restored."

## A Memorial to the President.

The following memorial to the President of the United States was drafted by representatives of the organizations therein named at a meeting held in New York City the first week in August.

"As official representatives of the American Association for International Conciliation, the American Peace Society, the Church Peace Union, the German-American Peace Society, the New York Peace Society, and the World Peace Foundation, we view with profound appreciation and gratitude your action in tendering the good offices of the United States to the nations of Europe now at war, under the provision of the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, the proffer of mediation to remain in force during the term of hostilities.

"We venture to suggest that the United States might appropriately perform a further service towards the reestablishment of peaceful relations in Europe, on a basis which shall prevent in future the mistaken national policies and the enormous armaments which have led to the present conflict, through inviting all the nations signatory to the Hague convention not involved in the present war, and especially the neutral nations of Europe, to unite with our Government in making, on the first favorable occasion, a joint offer of mediation in the interest of humanity, civilization, and lasting peace, in which all nations of the world are equally concerned."

Signed:

Lyman Abbott, William S. Bennet, Alfred J. Boulton, Mrs. Walston Brown, Melbert B. Cary, William G. Choate, Stephen W. Collins, John D. Crimmins, R. Fulton Cutting, Richard H. Dana, Robert W. De Forest, Horace E. Deming, Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea, Samuel T. Dutton, Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Algernon S. Frizzell, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, A. Angustus Healy. W. J. Holland. Hamilton Holt, William B. Howland, Charles E. Jefferson, Robert Underwood Johnson. Edwin A. Jones, Frederick P. Keppel, George F. Kunz, Mrs. Mary H. Loines, William McCarroll, J. L. Magnes. William H. Maxwell, John Mitchell, John R. Mott, John P. Munn, Edith Wynne Matthison. Eben E. Olcott, Thomas M. Ospans P. Berken, George Forter Beckedy Miss. borne, Alton B. Parker, George Foster Peabody, Miss Mary J. Pierson, George A. Plimpton, George Haven Putnam, William Gorham Rice, Ernst Richard, Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Livingston Seaman, Ernest Thompson Seton, Albert Shaw, William H. Short, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Francis Lynde Stetson, Jokichi Takamine, O. H. Tittmann, Ben-jamin F. Trueblood, James J. Walsh.

On August 19 a deputation, consisting of George Foster Peabody, Hamilton Holt, Dr. Ernst Richard, George E. Roberts, and William H. Short, was received by the Secretary of State at his office and cordially and sympathetically welcomed. Mr. Peabody acted as spokesman in presenting the address to the President through the Secretary of State. The committee feel that the proposals contained in this memorial are of such importance and the present crisis of such profound significance that their case ought not to rest merely on the impression made by their brief argument, and suggest that letters be written to both the President and Secretary Bryan enforcing their appeal.

The committee urge the following considerations:

a. That the matter of supreme importance is not to bring an end to hostilities, desirable as this is, but to obtain a settlement of the controversy, when the time comes, on a basis which shall prevent hereafter the mistaken national